AN

EXTRACT

OUT OF

THVANVS

His Preface to his Hiſtory, Dedicated to that Mighty and Renowned Prince *HENRY* the 4th. of *France* (the Kings Majeſties Maternal Grandfather) concerning TOLERATION of Differences in Religion.

Humbly ſubmitted to the Conſideration of his Majeſty and his Parliament. By *C. H*

Concilia Humana Caſtigantur ubi divinis præferuntur.

Whereunto is added a Speech taken out of the *Drummond* Hiſtory of *Scotland*, by a Councellor of that Kingdom to *James* the fifth, upon the ſame Subject.

LONDON, Printed for *Thomas Brewſter*, at the three Bibles near the Weſt end of *Pauls*: 1660.

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The Translator to the Reader.

UPon contemplation of the suitableness of this subject to our times, I was moved to do so much of this Preface into English, as concerneth Persecution for matters of Religion; for as all good men are sensible how great confusion our dissentions therein have begotten amongst us; so wicked men are thereby much scandalized and confirmed in Atheism, Heresie, Superstition, Popery and Prophaneness, who are apt to quarrel with Religion it self, and to say, Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum. Nevertheless the fervor of men in removing these scandals, often transporteth them beyond the bounds of Charity and Moderation, which instead of healing, exasperates our divisions, and how great an impediment these contests are to the Civil peace, we as all others amongst whom they have happened, have sufficiently experimented; but are now in hopes that Almighty God, having by his wonderful providence restored his Majestie to the Throne, that through his Divine goodness, and his Majesties wisdom and clemency, these Animosities will be extinguished, so that under his shadow we may live a godly, peaceable and honest life, none making us afraid, increasing more and more in firm loyalty and mutual concord, as becometh true

Christians *and good* Subjects, *who for a long time have not* only been biting, but devouring one another, *in which good hopes many of us have been confirmed from his Majesties gracious Declaration from* Breda, *wherein amongst other things of publick concernment to the peace of his* Dominions, *he is pleased to promise* indulgence *to tender Consciences, and declareth his readiness to assent to such an* Act *as shall be presented unto him from the* Parliament *for the ratifying of the said* indulgence; *which being of that import to so many thousands of the Subjects of this Kingdom, it is not to be doubted but they in their wisdoms will in due time provide; and likewise by the peaceable exercise of* Gods worship, *which we have enjoyed in this* City *since his* Majesties return: *which proceedings, although most wise men will grant very suitable to the present condition of these* Nations, *and consequently to his* Majesties firm settlement; *yet are there some now (as in former times) who have an itch* to be Lording it over the consciences of their Brethren, *who cannot in every thing agree with them, although* sound in the main matters of Religion; *and for that if any who are concerned should plead for* Christian liberty, *they would soon be taxed for* Partiality: *I have translated the judgement of this learned and moderate* Papist *expressed in the* Preface *against the unreasonable fury of those of that* Religion, *especially in* France *against such as differed from them, upon whose* intemperance *therein he doth most justly charge all those* horrible confusions *which happened there and elsewhere about matters of* Religion,

especially

especially in his time: And highly extolleth Henry *the* Great *for mitigating their violence, tendring so much the preservation of the* Protestants, *in confirming the* Edicts of Pacification *granted to them, and that not without great opposition, both from the Parliament of* Paris *and the* Ecclesiasticks. *The differences amongst us are not of the same importance, and therefore it would be more easie and safe for* his Majestie *to follow so worthy a pattern as his Renowned Ancestor, considering how parallel the beginnings of their reigns were, being both* banished *and declared incapable of* Government *by a party of their Subjects, and both after* a long interruption, *maugre all opposition and violences of Parties, restored to their Thrones, to the* satisfaction and settlement *of their* Dominions; *and how suitable soever it may seem to be to the interest of* particular persons *to exalt one, and depress all other* Parties, *it is undoubtedly* his Majesties *interest to extinguish all Animosities and seeds of* faction *amongst his* Subjects, *by providing for all their* equal *quiet and* welfare, *that his Throne may be established in* righteousness and mercy, *which that he may do, is the* prayer *of many thousands of his Subjects, whose prayers, notwithstanding their great failings towards God, his Majesty, and one another, are savory in the nostrils of the Almighty, through Jesus Christ our Lord and Advocate.*

Unto

UNto other evils which this age, an enemy to vertue, aboundeth in, dissentions about Religion is to be added, which hath almost this hundred years vexed the *Christian World* with continual commotions, and is like to perplex it further, if seasonable remedies, and those differing from such as have hitherto been in use, be not Administred by those whose interest principally it is; for we are sufficiently instructed from experience, that the *Sword*, *Faggots*, *Banishments*, *Confiscations* have rather irritated than healed the wounds of the mind, to the curing whereof those things are not only requisite which make impression upon the *body*, but *doctrine* and diligent instruction, which gently distilled, descendeth into the mind, are behooveful; for all other things are established according to the will of *Civil Magistrates*, and consequently *Princes*; *only Religion cannot be commanded*, except it first be received into the opinion for truth, and be infused into minds well prepared by the access of Divine Grace; torments prevail nothing, but rather strengtheneth then breaks their courage, or perswadeth them: What the *Stoicks* vaingloriously boasted of that their *wisdom*, we may more justly affirm of *Religion*; Pain and grief are of no moment therein; all inconveniences are overcome by vertue of an opinion once conceived; nothing of the things which he is to suffer will displease him; and whatsoever can befall a man, if it betide him, he complaineth not whilst he knoweth his strength, believeth himself supported by Divine power, he is confident of his

Competency

Competency to bear his burden; although the Executioner were before him, and the tormentor stood ready to lay fire and faggot to him, he will persevere, not considering what he is to *suffer*, but what he ought to *do*; his felicity is inward, whatsoever happens outwardly is a light matter to him, reaching only his skin; that which *Epicurus* himself (noted of other Philosophers as more impure) saith of a wise man, If he were burnt in *Phalaris*-bull, he will cry out It is sweet, and reacheth not me; and do we think that they had less courage, who dyed by several sorts of death for *Religion* this *last hundred years*, and yet are like to do for the time to come, if they be still persecuted? it is remarkable what one of them said and did, when he was bound to the stake to be burnt, falling down there upon his, *knees* he began to sing a *hymn*, the smoak and the fire hardly interrupting him; and when the Executioner would have kindled the fire behind him, that it might not be seen, Come hither, saith he, and light the fire before my face; for if I had feared that, I would not have come hither, from whence I might have fled. Therefore their heat who endeavour innovations in matters of *Religion*, is not to be suppressed by *Tortures*, for thereby their minds are rather imboldened to attempt greater matters; for out of the *Ashes of some, others grow*, and their number increasing, their patience turneth into *fury*; nor are they now suppliants as formerly, but become bold Expostulators and Vindicators of their liberty; those who at first fled punishment, at last take Arms, which we have seen these *forty years* in *France*, and little less in the *Low Countries*: things came at last to that pass, that the punishment of one or two, which perhaps might have sufficed at first to have rescinded the mischief before it spread further, will not serve turn; but now that it hath invaded whole peoples and intire Nations, even the greatest part of *Europe*, there is no use of the *Magistrates*, *but of the*

Lords

Lords sword, they ought now by moderate Arguments, to be instructed and invited to conferences and amicable debates, who cannot be compelled. This did St. *Augustine*, writing to *Proculianus* a Sectary of the *Donatists* party, who also interceded with *Donatus* the Proconsul of *Asia* for them, that they might not be put to death; for that it becometh the followers of the true Religion, not to recede from a constant purpose of overcoming evil with good; and that which he writeth elsewhere to *Cecilianus* the President, that the tumor of sacrilegious vanity ought rather to be healed then cut off in vengeance; and in that excellent Epistle to *Boniface* he addeth in cases of this kind, where by the grievous rents of discord, this or that man is not indangered, but the destruction of people is threatened, severity is to be somewhat mitigated, and charity is to be used in healing these greater evils; which was so well received by the Church, that that sentence is once and again transcribed in *Gratians Decrees*; for it was the opinion of that pious and meek man, that those evils were not sharply, harshly, or imperiously to be removed, which was rather to be promoted by instructing than imposing, by admonition rather than commination; so are the multitude of offendors to be dealt with, but the offences of a few are to be prosecuted with severity; and if threats be used by those in power, it ought to be with grief; and the fear of punishment should be inculcated from Scripture, that they may not be dreaded for their power, but God by their word, as he saith in his Epistle to Bishop *Aurelius*; and certainly if we love the truth, we must necessarily confess that there is no example extant in the antient Monuments of sacred *Antiquity*, wherein the punishment of *Sectaries* is approved, the *Antient Church* always abhorring the shedding of blood; and if at any time it happened, *good Bishops* truly detested it, as it appeared in *Priscillian* the Author of every destructive opinion,

 who

who having spread the seeds of his error in *the Churches of* France, especially in *Aquitain*, was with his followers put to death at *Triers* about the year of *Christ* 383. by *Maximus* (who having slain *Gratian* at *Lyons*, usurped the *Empire*) otherwise a good Prince, although St. *Martin* had obtained a promise from the Emperour, that he would not determine severely against the guilty, and admonished Bishop *Itacius* and other incendiaries, that they should disist from their prosecution, for that the rest of the *Bishops* disapproved of it as unjust: and although *Itacius* did in vain, to decline the envy of the fact, having effected his wicked design, withdraw himself, yet afterwards he was condemned by *Theogmistus*, and St. *Martin* was hardly perswaded, and that but in case of extream necessity to Communicate with the *Itacian party*. The famous St. *Ambrose* testifieth in his own relation, that being about that time sent to *Maximus* by the Emperour *Valentinian* then a boy, brother to *Gratian*, who was slain being at *Triers*, he abstained from those Bishops that Communicated with *Itacius*, and sought the death of those that erred from the faith; but when afterwards *Maximus* by the instigation of those *furious Bishops*, determined to send Armed Commanders into *Spain*, with full authority to enquire against the *Hereticks*, and apprehending them, to deprive them of *life* and *estate*, St. *Martin* prevailed with him to revoke that decree; for that pious man was not only careful to deliver many *good Christians*, who under pretence of that decree were likely to be vexed, but the *Hereticks* themselves; for he foresaw, that if that storm were not diverted, it would destroy great numbers of the *Saints*, there being little difference made between men; and *Hereticks* were judged rather *by the carriage of their eyes, the paleness of their faces, or their Garments*, then by their *Doctrine*; but this *Heresie* was not only not restrained by *Priscillian* the Authors death, but confirmed and propagated; for his followers

that

that first honoured him as a *Saint*, now begin to reverence him as a *Martyr*; and their bodies being translated into *Spain*, their funeral was celebrated with great *Solemnitie*; and his Desciples *superstition* grew to such a degree, that they held it a great piece of devotion to swear by *Priscillian*; and from thence were kindled continual discords between the *French Bishops*, which lasted fifteen years compleat, and could hardly for a long time after be wholly removed, the people of God and the best men being in the interim exposed to scorn and derision: which things when I read in *Severus Sulpitius*, who with equal faith and elegancy hath written the history of that age, I call to mind the times of my childhood, when the Commotions first began about Religion in *France*, wherein men without any regard to their *manners* and the innocency of their former lives, were suspected by their *Countenance* or *Garments*, were designed to slaughter by their eyes, and through sides of contention, enmity, flattery, fear, inconstancy, sleepiness, sloth and arrogance of those in chief power, the Kingdom was rent by factions, the *peace* thereof being disturbed, *Religion* it self was brought into danger; From St. *Martins* time the Church dealt more mildly with them that erred from the faith; they were only banished or fined, but alwayes they abstained from blood; and when in the year 1060. some of *Arch-Deacons Berengarius* his followers, did spread his opinion amongst the——— and other parts of the *Low-Countries*; *Bruno Arch-Bishop* of *Triers*, esteemed it sufficient to expell them out of his *Diocess*, but abstained from blood; nor were they used more severely by the Church untill the time of the *Waldenses*, against whom after they had proceeded by exquisite torments to little purpose, that remedy unseasonably administred, exasperating the evil, their numbers dayly increasing, they raised at length formed Armies, and determined a *war* against them, of no less moment then

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that we had formerly managed against the *Saracens*; the issue whereof was, that they were rather everywhere *slain* and *driven from their estates*, and *dignities*, *plundered* and *routed*, then brought by *conviction* to repent of their *Errors*; so that they who had by arms defended themselves, being by force overcome, fled at last for refuge unto us in *Province* and the *Alpes* of the *French* Dominions, where they found a hiding place for their Persons and *Doctrine*; others of them betook themselves to *Calabria*, where they continued long, even to the Popedome of *Pius* the fourth; others passed into *Germany*, and setled there and in *Bohemia*, *Poland* and *Livonia*; some betaking themselves Westward found refuge in *Brittain*: for *John Wicliffe* who taught long at *Oxford*, is thought to have sprung from their reliques; he died of a natural disease after many contests concerning Religion, about three hundred years since, and was so obnoxious to the *Magistrates*, that long after his death his *bones* were publickly burned: from hence proceeded many successively unto our times, wherein after the unhappy experiment of severity, matters proceeded from disputations to open wars and utter defection of people in *Germany*, *England* and *France*; a Schism was hereby made and confirmed; whether more to the damage of the publick peace or Religion, is hard to affirm, being too long neglected by those that could and ought to have remedied it; which things I produce not altogether to detract from the punishment of *Sectaries*, which I know to be a perplexed question, and not suitable either to the time or my function, but to evidence how agreeable to the policy and prudence of the *Antient Church*, the proceedings of those Princes are, who compound amicably, even upon *unequal terms*, wars arising about matters of *Religion*, rather then put them to the trial of Arms, which the wise *Prince Ferdinand* saw, who was trained up in long and very perilous wars under his Brother *Charles* the

fifth

fifth in *Germany*, and was taught by experience, that the arms taken up against the *Protestants* were unsuccessful; assoon therefore as he was happily possest of the *Empire*, he established an accommodation in matters of Religion by a solemn *decree*, which on several occasions he ever after ratified; and perceiving that matters of Religion were best promoted by *amicable* conferences, having had experience thereof from those that had been indicted under his Brother at *Ratisbone* and *Worms*, he determined a little before his death upon the dissolution of the *Council of Trent*, by the prudent advice of his son *Maximilian*, to appoint a new conference for the satisfaction of the *Protestants* that came not thither; and for that end made choice of *George Cassander* a learned and moderate man, peaceably to confer with the Pastors of the adverse party, about the controverted points of the *Augustine* Confession; but that good mans indisposition of body, and both their deaths soon ensuing, deprived *Germany* of the good issue hoped for from thence; the same course the State of *Poland* by the example of *Germany* setled in their Commonwealth: but *Emanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy*, being by vertue of the peace made with us, restored to the possession of what he had lost, either to increase his fame in *Italy*, or to gratifie others, although at his own hazard, involved himself rashly in a disadvantageous war with those of the *Vallies*; but afterwards reformed his error by timely repentance, in granting to his otherwise innocent subjects the *liberty of their Consciences*, and ever after punctually observed the peace made with them. I come now to our affairs, and to handle a sore, the touching whereof I fear may turn to my disadvantage; but having entred once upon this subject, I must ingenuously and shortly declare, which under you Sir I may lawfully do, *that war is not a legitimate means of suppressing Schism in the Church*; for the *Protestants* who alwaies decreased both in number and

authority, in times of peace, have increased in times of war and discord; and certainly there hath been great errors committed amongst us, either from a preposterous religious zeal, or from ambition or desire of novelty, that when very bloody wars undertaken against the *Protestants* have been composed, they have again been renewed, to the very great detriment of *France*, and danger of *Religion*. What needeth their words? the thing it self speaketh after various stirs, whereby innumerable Cities were taken, which were again restored together with peace, in the year 63. how admirable sudden and hopeful a *settlement* did flourish, how acceptable to all good men were those *four years*, *Religion* was setled securely, and most profitable laws established by that *upright Judge* whereof *France* never repented, until through the judgement of God they grew weary of the publick tranquillity thereby established, and rejecting the Councils of peace, inclined to a war, not only fatal to us, but at last to the contrivers themselves, whom I would signifie hereby, is known unto all who are not ignorant what was concluded upon at that unhappy interview at *Bayon*, where the Massacre of *France* was concluded upon; for from that time being deluded by forraign fraud, all affairs amongst us tended to preparations for treachery and war, and *D. Alva* with a powerful army is sent into the *Low-Countries*, who displacing *Margarite of Parma*, who had Governed those Countries with great moderation, he put all things into *War* and *Confusion*, erecting Forts everywhere, and raising unusual *Taxes* for the support of the war, to the suppression of their *liberty*; and those opulent *Cities*, their *liberties* being infringed, as gross bodies deprived of meat, languished; from these harsh and high Counsels the people fell into desperation, and at last *rebellion*; which although composed for a time, had this conclusion, that the greater and richer parts, and most opportune for Navigation, wherein the riches

of

of those *Provinces* principally consists, being torn as it were from the rest of the body, is now Governed by the authority of the *States*, and hath this long while made war successfully, not only with the adverse party, but with all the force of *Spain*; which accident *Francis Baldwin of Arras* a famous Civil Lawyer in his time long before fearing, advised the States of the Low-Countries humbly to Petition *King Philip* for the procuring of *liberty for the Protestants*, and a remission of the severity of their punishments, and of the *inquisition* after suspected persons, on which subject he wrote a *book in French*, wherein he shewed that mutual converse and equal right being setled amongst dissenters, the business of Religion so much distracted by controversies, would be better provided for then by the way of force and arms, wherein if they proceeded, he foresaw that the Protestants interest now small, dispersed and divided into many factions, would be united, and at last proceed from disputes unto open war and defection. Let them then please themselves with their importunate vanities, who boast themselves greater lovers forsooth of Religion then other men, who out of envy to the greatness of the *French*, so long have vaunted, that they never will subscribe to peace with Hereticks; let them see now whereto their excellent Counsels have tended, and lament the loss of so many flourishing *Provinces*, and so much wealth vainly consumed upon their recovery; how willingly now would they grow wise by our example, which then they so artificially *detested*! what rate would they give for the redeeming of the loss of so many years, which had they been profitably employed against the common enemies of *Christendom*, they might long since, to their great honour and advantage, have expelled them out of *Hungary*, and both the *Mauritania's*! but I fear that the same defect of prudence which we impute to them, should by others be justly charged upon our selves; for whether

ther incited by our own furious dispositions, or their instigations, we have administred occasions to most pernitious commotions, wherein *Cities* and *Churches* spared in former insurrections, were levelled with the *Foundations*, Provinces wasted, enmities revived which peace had buried, jealousies heightned, Arms laid down that they might be taken up again with more eagerness; yet after all this, at length a *peace* is concluded, which by how much the happier it was, the more impious was its *violation*, and ought to be devoted to eternal *Oblivion*. The *Massacre* followed *two years after*; which, Sir, almost had devoured you, whom God had destin'd for the restoring of the affairs of *France*, having escaped this Rock; within the space of two years we fell upon several other shelves, upon which by the same imprudence we were wracked; Divine wrath lingered not, but took vengeance upon the wickedness of *France* by the death of a generous Prince, *Charles* the fifth, by whose authority the Massacre was committed, who rather failed by the fault of others than his own inclination. What did his successor *Henry* the third, chosen King of *Poland*, returning out of *Poland*, contemning the advice of *Maximilian* the Emperor, and the *Venetian Senate*, whom he visited in his journey? he chose war, which they at the earnest intreaty of the Protestants dissuaded him from, rather then peace at his first entry into his Kingdom, which he soon repented, and altered his opinion, and three years after made that *Pacificatory* Edict which bears usually his name; and for seven years after there followed a settled peace, except in some places; for a short space some incursions, but nothing that deserved the name of *War*, untill men impatient of peace, who thought it a disparagement unto them, that *France* should be in such a condition as that they might easily be spared, they raised a very dismal war in a most dangerous time, wherein the *King* by a fatal blindness, through the ill Counsel of those that

were

were about him, suffered himself to be involved against you in pretence in the beginning, but it fell upon his own head in the conclusion. I abhor the mention of that detestable * parricide, not only to the everlasting ignominy of *France*, but to their infamy, especially who so much rejoyced therein, which doubtless had involved the Kingdom, and with the Kingdom Religion it self into inextricable destruction, if you Sir had not by the unexpected blessing of God, watching for our safety, been reserved for these times, and as a pillar had not sustained the sinking *Commonwealth*, and by your virtue had not turned the *precipitating wheele of publick calamitie* overwhelming all things opposite unto it, by your illustrious example, evidencing *that Religion only as I said, could neither be compelled nor imposed*; for being afflicted even from a child with so many calamities of civil War, and incompassed about at one time with so many armies, after so many blows partly given and partly received; for then to overcome and be overcome, was then upon the matter equally calamitous; continuing firm in your former opinion, you persevered therein with such constancy as not to lose a jot of ground, being not to be overcome either with hopes or fears; at length perceiving all other things to submit to your courage, you condescended at last to the humble desires of your subjects, and suffered your self to be overcome, giving up your name to the *Religion* of your *Ancestors*; yet afterwards continuing the exercise of that *Moderation* (with which you are indowed, and have found beneficial to your self,) towards your subjects, recalling what *Edicts* had been enacted against the *Protestants*, and consequently against *your self*, without the consent of your *Predecessor*; and having to your great honour made peace not only with your *Subjects*, but *Forraigners*, and one or two *Edicts* passed formerly in favour of the Protestants, you confirmed by a third, whereby you restored them not only

* Who was assassin'd by a Jacobin Frier at the instigation of the Legures.

to their goods and houses, but likewise to their fame and honour, and enobled many of them with *chief dignities*, supposing that it would fall out that enmities by degrees abating, the concord setled by the Edicts between adverse parties would be established, and thereby mens minds being cleared, and these passions being dispelled as a cloud, they would come to discern what is best in *Religion*, that is, what is most *Antient*; this course of dealing, those good Bishops thought fit to follow, towards such, who being either corrupt in their judgements or discontented, withdrew themselves from the rule and communion of the Church, thereby evidencing themselves rather to be guided by a principle of charity than desire of Conquest: so St. *Augustine* everywhere calls the *Pelagians* and *Optatus Milevitanus* his Contemporary, the *Donatists* brethren; and St. *Cyprian* before them desired, advised and perswaded likewise, that if it might be, none of the brethren might perish.

A Speech taken out of the History of *Scotland* written by *William Drummond*; Spoken by a Councellor to *James* the fifth King of *Scotland*, upon the subject of Toleration.

SIR,

AMongst the many blessings your Subjects enjoy under this your Government, this is not the least, that for the weal of your Majesty, and the publick good of the Kingdom, the meanest of your Subjects may freely open his mind, and declare his opinion unto you his Soveraign.

And if ever there was a time, in which grave, good and sound counsel should be delivered to your Majesty, it is this, and the difficulties of the Commonwealth do now require it. Nor ever, in matters of Advice and Consultation, can we imbrace and follow what is most reasonable, and what, according to Laws, Justice, and Equity, should be, but what necessity driveth us unto, and what is most convenient for the present time to be, and what we may well and fairly accomplish and bring to pass.

The estate of your Kingdom is troubled with diversity of opinions concerning Religion; It is to be wished, that the one only true Religion were in the hearts of all your Subjects, (since diversity of opinions of Religion, and Heresies, are the very punishment of God Almighty upon men, for their horrible Vices and roaring sins. And when men forsake his fear and true obedience, God abandoneth them to their own opinions and fantasies in Religion; out of which arise Partialities, Factions, Divisions, Strife, Intestine Discords, which burst forth into Civil War, and in short time bring Kingdoms and Commonwealths to their last periods) But matters arising to such a height and disorder,

as by all appearance, they are like to advance in this Kingdom, the number of the Sectaries dayly increasing, without dissembling my thoughts to your Majesty, the preservation of the People being the Supreme and Principal Law which God Almighty hath enjoyned to all Princes:

I hold it more expedient to give place to the exercise of both Religions, than under pretence and shadow of them to suffer the Common Peace of your Subjects to be torn in pieces. What can wisdom (Sir) advise you to do with these Separatists? Either they must be tolerated for a time, or they must altogether be removed, and that by Death or Banishment.

So soon as a Prince beginneth to Spoyl, Banish, Kill, Burn his People, for matters abstract from sense, and altogether Spiritual, he becometh, as it were, a plague unto them.

It is an Error of State in a Prince, for an opinion of Piety, to condemn to Death the Adherers to new Doctrine: For, the constancy and patience of those who voluntarily suffer all temporal miseries, and Death it self, for matters of Faith, stir up and invite numbers, who at first, and before they had suffered, were ignorant of their Faith and Doctrine, not only to favour their Cause, but to embrace their opinions, Pitty and Commiseration opening the gates. Thus their Belief spreadeth it self abroad, and their number dayly encreaseth.

It is no less Error of State to banish them. Banished men are so many Enemies abroad, ready upon all occasions to invade their Native Country, to trouble the Peace and Tranquillity of your Kingdom.

To take Arms against Sectaries and Separatists, will be a great Enterprize, a matter hard, and of many dangers; Religion cannot be Preached by arms; the first Christians detested that form of proceedings; Force and Compulsion may bring forth Hypocrites, not true Christians. If there be any Heresie amongst your People, this wound is in the Soul; our Souls being Spiritual Substances, upon which

fire

fire and Iron cannot work, They must be overcome by Spiritual Arms; Love the men, and pitty their Errors.

Who can lay upon a man a necessity to believe that which he will not believe, or what he will believe, or doth believe, not to believe? No Prince hath such power over the Souls and thoughts of men, as he hath over their bodies. Now to ruine and extirpate all those Sectaries, what will it prove else than to cut off one of your arms, to the great prejudice of your Kingdom, and weakning of the State, they dayly encreasing in number, and no man being so miserable and mean, but he is a member of the State?

The more easie manner, and nobler way, were to tolerate both Religions, and grant a Place to two Churches in the Kingdom, till it shall please Almighty God to return the minds of your Subjects, and turn them all of one will and opinion. Be content to keep that which you may, Sir, since ye cannot that which ye would.

It is a false and erroneus opinion, That a Kingdom cannot subsist, which toleratetb two Religions. Diversity of Religion shutteth not up Society, nor barreth civil conversation among men; a little time will make persons of different Religions contract such acquaintance, custom, familiarity together, that they will be intermixt in one City, Family, yea, Mariage-Bed, State and Religion having nothing common.

Why (I pray) may not two Religions be suffered in a State (till by some swect and easie means they may be reduced to a right Government) since in the Church (which should be union it self, and of which the Roman Church much vaunteth) almost infinite Sects, and kinds of Monks are suffered, differing in their Laws, Rules of Government, fashions of living, dyet, apparel, maintenance, and opinions of perfection, and who sequester themselves from our publick union? The Roman *Empire had its extension, not by similitude and likeness of Religion. Different Religiens, providing they enterprize nor practise nothing against the Politick Laws of the Kingdom, may be tolerated in a State.*

The Murthers, Massacres, Battels which arise and are belike dayly to increase amongst Christians, all which are undertaken for Religion, are a thousand times more execrable, and be more open, plain, flat impiety, than this Liberty of diversity of Religions, with a quiet peace, can be unjust.

Forasmuch as the greatest part of those who flesh themselves in blood and slaughter, and overturn by arms the peace of their neighbours (whom they should love as themselves) spoiling and ravaging like famished Lions, sacrifice their Souls to the infernal powers, without further hopes or means of their ever recovering and coming back, when those others are in some way of Repentance.

In seeking liberty of Religion, these men seek not to believe any thing that may come in their Brains; but to use Religion according to the first Christian Institutions, serving God, and obeying the Laws under which they were born.

That Maxim so often repeated amongst the Churchmen at Rome, *That the Chase and following of Hereticks is more necessary than that of Infidels, is well applyed for the enlarging and increasing the Dominions, Soveraignty and power of the Pope, but not for the amplifying and extending of the Christian Religion, and the weal and benefit of the Christian Commonwealth.*

Kingdoms and Soveraignties should not be governed by the Laws and Interests of Priests and Church-men, but according to the exigency, need, and, as the Case requireth, of the publick weal, which often is necessitated to pass and tolerate some defects and faults. It is the duty of all Christian Princes to endeavour, and take pains, that their Subjects embrace the true faith, as that semblably and in even parts they observe all Gods Commandments, and not more one Commandment than another.

Notwithstanding, when a Vice cannot be extirpate and taken away, without the ruine of the State, it would appear to humane Judgements, that it should be suffered.

Neither

Neither is there a greater obligation, bond, necessity of Law, to punish Hereticks more than Fornicators, which yet for the peace and tranquillity of the State are tolerated and past over. Neither can a greater inconvenience and harm follow, if we should suffer men to live in our Commonwealth, who believe not, nor embrace not all our Opinions. In an Estate many things are for the time tolerated, because they cannot, without the total ruin of the State, be suddenly amended and reformed.

These men are of that same nature and condition of which we are; they worship, as we do, one God; they believe those very same holy Records; we both aim at Salvation; We both fear to offend God; we both set before us our happiness: The difference between them and us hangeth upon this one point, that they, having found abuses in our Church, require a Reformation. Now shall it be said, for that we run divers waies to one end, understand not rightly others Language, we shall pursue others with fire and sword, and extirpate others from the face of the earth? God is not in the bitter division and alienation of affections, nor the raging flames of sedition, nor in the tempests of the turbulent whirlwinds of contradictions and disputations, but in the calm and gentle breathings of peace and concord. If any wander out of the High-way, we bring him to it again; If any be in darkness, we shew him light, and kill him not. In musical Instruments, if a string jar and be out of tune, we do not frettingly break it, but leasurely veer it about to a Concord: and shall we be so churlish, cruel, uncharitable, so wedded to our own Superstitious opinions, that we will barbarously banish, kill, burn, those whom by Love and Sweetness we might readily win and recal again?

Let us win and merit of these men by reason, let them be cited to a free Council; it may be they shall not be proved Hereticks, neither that they maintain opinions condemned by the antient Councils; let their Religion be compared and parallel'd with the Religion of the first age of the Church.

Shall

Shall we hold this People worse than the Jews, which yet have their Synagogues at Rome *it self? let them receive instructions from a free and lawful Council, and forsake their errors when they shall be clearly and fairly demonstrated unto them. Heresie is an errour in the fundamental grounds of Religion; Schism intendeth a resolution in separation: Let a good Council be convocated, and see if they be ready or not to reunite themselves to us.*

That which they believe is not evil, but to some it will appear they believe not enough, and that there is in them rather a defect of good, then any habit of evil. Other points when they shall be considered, shall be found to consist in external Ceremonies of the Church, rather than in substance of doctrine, or what is essential to Christianity. These men should be judged before condemned, and they should be heard before they be judged, which being holily and uprightly done, we shall find it is not our Religions, but our private interests and passions, which trouble us and our State.

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FINIS.